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**CURSORY REMARKS**

**O N**

**DR. PRICE'S OBSERVATIONS**

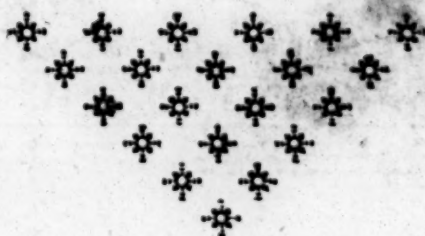
**O N T H E**

**NATURE OF CIVIL LIBERTY.**

**I N**

**A LETTER TO A FRIEND.**

**BY A MERCHANT.**



**L O N D O N:**

**Printed for W. NICOLL, No. 71, ST. PAUL'S  
CHURCH-YARD.**

**M,DCC,LXX,VI.**

CURATOR'S REMARKS

ON

DR. PRICE'S OBSERVATIONS

OF THE

NATURE OF CIVIL LIBERTY

AND A FRIEND



OF THE

OF THE

Printed by W. Nicol, No. 1, St. Paul's Church-yard.

London.

1791.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

SO many and so good answers have already appeared to Dr. Price's Pamphlet, that the Author of the following had a great inclination to suppress his; but being persuaded by some of his friends that some particulars had not yet been generally known, it was thought it might still be of use to the Publick to let it be printed, whose service he is always freely disposed to promote to the utmost of his power.

The Author's absence from the Press, occasioned the following *Errata* to escape the notice of the Printer.

In the last Page of the Dedication, line 1st, for *and* read *yet*.

Page 9, line 4, for *claimed* read *chained*.

Page 10, line 22, dele *with*.

Page 14, line 26, for *trade* read *favour*.

Page 19, line 1, for *reinstate* read *restrain*.

Idem. last line, for *do* read *to*.



## DEDICATION.

To the REVEREND Mr. HENLEY.

DEAR SIR,

AS I look upon you to be a sincere lover of civil and religious Liberty, as well as an able and strenuous advocate for them, and one who, for his attachment to them, and for his loyalty, has been a considerable fellow sufferer with many others of our fellow subjects in America, as well as at home, by the rebellion now raging there with most destructive violence to all loyal subjects ; I have taken the liberty to address this Pamphlet to you, as a very good judge of the facts therein stated, and of the reasonings deduced from the principles therein maintained, as well as a token of my friendship for you.

But I have still a reason of much higher importance, because the Publick is greatly concerned



## DEDICATION.

concerned in the truth of it, and of which you are a very competent witness, viz. that I was assured by the gentleman from whom I had received the information mentioned in the close of this letter; that he himself applied to some of the leading men in the Congress the day before they set out for Philadelphia in May last, with the hope of prevailing on them to procure from that Assembly the offer of a certain revenue; adding it as his opinion, though without any authority, that he did not doubt but that if even 100,000 l. only were then proposed, the Ministry would accept it, and put an end to all armaments preparing against them. To this, the only answer he could receive was, that they were fully persuaded that they should never be able to procure any thing from them; and that they should lose their own interest were they even to attempt it.

If this be true, as you yourself must remember, being in the same company, if  
not

## DEDICATION.

not within hearing, and knowing of the intention of the proposal being to be made, and the paper of Mr. Manduit, as published in the London Chronicle, being shewn for that very purpose, that they might attempt to get it rescinded, and which was borrowed of you with that intention; the whole world, as well as yourself, may now judge how little reliance can be had upon Dr. Price's conjectures or calculations, that we might have had a revenue of 400,000l. per annum, if a proper requisition had ever been made. I am,

With great esteem and regard,

Dear Sir,

Your sincere Friend,

and very humble Servant,

The Author.



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## CURSORY REMARKS

O N

DR. PRICE'S PAMPHLET.

AS I find Dr. Price's Pamphlet, on the American Affairs, is thought a master piece by the party ; and as I totally differ with him in the main of his arguments, though I agree that the subject *is highly interesting, and deserves the most careful attention of every Englishman ;*" I have taken the liberty to make some observations upon his performance, and to offer them in this shape to the Public.

I shall not indeed attempt to follow him through so wide a field as the doctrine of physical, moral, and religious liberty, would lead me to ; nor have I much to object to what he has advanced upon these heads, but shall confine myself to his doctrine about civil and political Liberty,

B



erty, which is, I think, all that is needful for the present purpose.

Nor shall I pretend to go through all that Grotius, Puffendorf, and Locke have advanced upon the latter topick; but I must observe, that in the present question, *the natural and unalienable rights of every man as a member of society, or of any civil community*, except our own, is little to the purpose. The Rights and Liberties of every member of the British Constitution, as settled by the glorious Revolution, which has raised this kingdom to a state of happiness and prosperity unknown to former ages, and made the condition of Englishmen in every part of the empire, the admiration and envy of foreigners, is all that is necessary to be considered upon this occasion.

Yet I will not controvert the position of the *natural* equality of all mankind, for which he may plead the authority of Puffendorf, and its being a proper basis for a thorough discussion of such a question to begin with; especially if we were to form an idea of a perfect Republic—of Plato, or of Sir Thomas Moore's Utopia—or Mr. Locke's—but in practice, that of the latter would not do in Carolina; and in fact, there never was any *such* state in any part of the globe.

I must totally differ from him with regard to the mischiefs of anarchy or despotism; and for this good reasons may be given from what is now passing in America, and what he himself observes of the good government of the kingdom of France.

All

All Governments have been divided by the best writers into monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy, or a mixture of all the three, like our own, which has always, hitherto, or till very lately, been reckoned the best and most perfect of any in the Universe. If it be not wholly so, it is human; but if not impeded by the declamations of pseudo Patriots, in and out of the city, it will, I hope, soon bring itself to rights again.

In a pure monarchy, as that of France has been supposed to be, how justly I will not now stay to enquire, the King represents the wisdom, as well as the power and dignity of the state: but in ours, the King's part of the Legislature, which comprehends all the wisdom of the state, and a great part of his power too, has by various circumstances been parted with to the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, who may properly enough be now called joint tenants, or tenants in co-parcenary of the Sovereignty.

Lord Chief Justice Hale says, that when King Edward sent his writ to the sheriffs to send up two or three of the wisest and gravest men out of each county, to consult *de arduis Regni*, nobody doubted but it was as good a Parliament as any—as full and free a Parliament I think are his words, for I have not the book just now by me; but this would by no means satisfy Dr. Price and our modern reformers. However, the present Constitution, as settled at the Revolution, which we are all bound by our oaths to defend, has also settled the mode of election, with which we may well be contented, and thereunto, I think, every En-



Englishman, in all parts of the globe, is bound to submit.

I pass over intirely the aristocratical and democratical forms of government, as not at all pertinent to the case in hand—and shall go on with the state of the argument, as I left it at the end of the last paragraph, and beg leave to repeat it, that all men who claim the rights and privileges of Englishmen, in whatever part of the globe they may reside, are obliged to submit to the government established by the English Constitution; and that Government is by King, Lords, and Commons; nor does it signify how the latter are elected, or whether they might be better contrived; if that could be done at any time, surely no one will judge the present to be a proper season.

If the Americans are not so bound, and oblig'd to submit, they are not our fellow subjects, any more than the Hanoverians, who are under the same King, but not under the same Government.

The King's charter cannot exempt them, for he has only one third part of the Sovereignty now; and as the Author of the Rights of Great Britain justly observes, that would be to make a part greater than the whole

The King's charter can only make a corporation, and some corporations have a right to send members to parliament, and others have not—though I do not wish, if they chuse to apply for it, in a proper manner, it should be refused to any of the Colonies, in proportion to what they may



may agree to contribute to the land-tax, as was done by Scotland at the time of the Union.

And indeed I wish that their Governors, Councils, and Assemblies, or Houses of Burgeſſes, had never been called by any other names or titles, than Mayors, Aldermen, and Common-Council Men; that they might have better diſcovered the rank they really hold in the ſtate; and I hope, when things come to be ſettled again, their charters will all be recalled, and granted anew in the ſame words as formerly, or at leaſt as that of Virginia, the oldeſt of all, but with only that ſtile and title for the future.

That the Imperial Sovereignty of the whole ought to be, and always did reſide in the Legiſlature at home, was, I believe, never doubted till very lately.

And if it did not, we ſhould be ſo far from being one empire, that we ſhould be only 23 or 24 diſunited Provinces, (and a great many more if we reckon in the Weſt-India Iſlands): and although each Province might order its own particular affairs well enough, as all corporations are enabled to raiſe all local taxes by their charters, as highways and bridges, poors rates, watch and ward, hue-and-cry, &c. Yet, in matters of war and peace, ſuch as concern the rights always heretofore underſtood to be appropriated to the Sovereignty, now by our Conſtitution veſted in the Parliament as above obſerved, it would be impoſſible ever to get ſo many independant Legiſlatures to concur in any one point, and ſome would contribute their quotas, others not, juſt as the

the benefits of a separate trade, or the harangues of their popular demagogues might incline them—and the fact is, that in the late war some did contribute pretty considerably, and others did not.

But as in any future war we ought to be able to make use of the whole strength of the whole nation, and as a burgher of Virginia, or any other province or colony can only tax his colony for the defence thereof, but not for that of Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the islands; who should be able, but the Parliament, as the common center of union to the whole?

Jamaica is an estate purchased and maintained by England, and never cost any of the Colonies on the continent a single shilling towards its acquisition, support, or defence, that I know of; and yet Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, &c. get as much by their trade thither, as the English merchant. What right have they to trade thither at all, if not as Englishmen? but how Englishmen, if only under the same King, but not under the same government? Are we to recur here to natural rights? Have the Hanoverians any right to trade and fit out ships thither to undersell the Englishman, that pays not only all the taxes upon his consumptions, as well as the American, but also the land-tax; and many others which the Americans do not pay to at all?

Algernon Sydney observed, that every Englishman had a right to apply for liberty and protection to the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench;



Bench ; but now, it seems, it is a mark of slavery to be accounted amenable thereunto.

The Parliament did indeed repay, or give back to some of the Colonies upon the continent, what they judged they had advanced more than their proportions in the late war ; but was not that an act of Sovereignty, as much as any other of those complained of ? and to shew they thought themselves the only judges of the quantum, how much Great Britain ought to contribute, and how much America ; and who could tax their fellow subjects in Great Britain or Jamaica, to contribute to the common defence, but the Parliament ?

Mr. Grenville reduced the duty on molasses imported into America from the West-India Islands—is it not as much an act of Sovereignty to take off a duty, as to impose one ? but this was never complained of.

The Parliament in King Henry's time, though very often much too submissive, were yet so jealous of the little share they had in the power of government, that they made an act that all offences committed in France, should be triable in England, although the King's dominions then there were looked upon as patrimonial, or of his own demesne, by the lawyers in general, I think however the Parliament considered them as Colonies : but this act, it seems now, is a mark of slavery for the Americans, though made so many years before we had any settlements at all in America.

The true definition or description of a legal and good government, seems to me to be, when the  
strength



strength of the whole can be applied to the defence and support of each individual against any wrongs or injuries that may be offered to him, either from domestic or foreign invaders, and where ALL are justly bound to contribute to the common defence in fair and equal proportions. The doctrine of representation, though advanced by Mr. Locke, who was not infallible, never was established in any kingdom; yet will any man say that all the taxes ever levied in any or all the kingdoms in the Universe that ever have been, were nothing but unjust and plain robberies, except in our own, and that only in latter ages?

Allegiance and protection were always held to be reciprocal—have not the Americans been protected by our fleets and armies? and is not the debt incurred in the two last wars, solely for the defence of America and the Islands, still heavy upon us? but were not all the Colonies got out of the debt incurred by them, or nearly so? I speak only now of the Colonies on the Continent, which I do know something of: as for the Islands, I know nothing either of their debts or contributions.

Does Dr. Price really think if an American revenue could ever be procured by the King, not subject to the controul of Parliament, that the liberties of Great Britain, in future times, would be as safe as at present; especially when we have such watchful guardians to look after them as Messrs. W—k—s, F—x, B. and B. &c. &c. &c?

What is the use of Liberty, when a man has no property left, as is the case of most of our fellow

fellow subjects in America, who had any heretofore, when a paper currency, not worth a farthing, is crammed down their throats, under pain of being tarred and feathered, claimed to a Negro day and night, or immediate death, by a halter or bayonet?

Does not the Doctor know that the Bostonians have often refused to make provision for the civil Government, as well as other Colonies, though some, as Virginia more especially, have done it very honourably?

Does not the Doctor know that the Rebels, in the year 1745, were tried in Middlesex and Surrey, and other counties, and not by a jury of their own neighbourhood, where born, or even of the places where they were taken, or committed the facts?

Are not most of the Colonies holden, as of the manor of East Greenwich, in Kent; and would not twelve freeholders of that county, or hundred, be a jury of the vicinage?

Are all Englishmen to be suspected, not only of partiality, but of perjury—and bribery must be put, to be sure, into the bargain?

Does not the Doctor know, that if the Bostonians had made satisfaction for the tea destroyed, the act to stop up their port, had never taken place; nor the others probably been made that are complained of? And is it not usual for the county to make good all damages occasioned by  
C publick



publick riots in England, if the offenders are not brought to justice by that county?

I purposely pass over the case of Ireland; but if the conquest of lands can never confer any rights, I would advise the gentlemen who are possessed of lands there, under grants of King William and Mary, or Queen Anne, to consider whether they are not bound in conscience to restore them to the natural and unalienable rights of the miserable Popish natives—but I fancy few of the Protestant patriotick declaimers in their House of Commons, will ever come into it.

But I deny that the lands of any of the American Colonies were obtained by fair purchase from the natives, except those of Pennsylvania, unless since the beginning of the war before last, when the Indians on our side, who joined us against the French and their Indians, had something like a compensation for their newly ceded boundaries, if such paltry prices as have been usually allowed them can with any propriety or truth, be called with any thing like a compensation.

The case of a free country branching itself out, &c. is indeed new, \* but the ingratitude of one country to another is not at all new to Great Britain. How many millions of money, and how many

\* “The case of a free country branching itself out in the manner Britain has done, and sending to a distant world, colonies which have there, from small beginnings, and under free legislatures of their own, increased, and formed a body of powerful states likely soon to become superior to the parent state.—This is a case which is new in the history of mankind.” See Dr. Price’s Observations, p. 33.



many lives did not this kingdom expend in the reigns of King William and Queen Ann, and in that of King George the Second, for the service of the house of Austria ; and what is the retribution or assistance we ever received from them ?

Nor is the case at all new of republicks, as well as kingdoms grasping at more conquests than they have been able to keep under due subjection—the famous reply of the old woman to Cyrus, “ *Why did you conquer us if you can’t govern us ?* ” is of long standing in the world ; and may serve to shew that the scheme of the truly reverend, humane, and candid Dr. Tucker (though so much abused by the foul-mouth’d voice of party) deserves well to be considered, and is, as well as the author, worthy of much regard.

The conceit that a kingdom can never profit by trade with a country they may have conquered, is however very new indeed, and that the conquered country is immediately intitled to all the privileges of the conquerors, and to be free of all taxes, unless imposed by their own consent, would be also very new indeed, every where, except in England—unless perhaps in Ireland.

A real consent, by a real representation, never was obtained in any kingdom under the sun, and a virtual representation, though indeed the true genius of the English government, the Americans will not hear of—an executor is the representative of a dead man ; an assignee of a bankrupt is a representative of a living one, much against his will ; but pray can Dr. P. shew me any old Law-  
C 2 book,

book, wherein the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesſes, aſſembled in Parliament, are authentically called Representatives? Would not they, and indeed the whole Parliament, be more properly called Trustees and Guardians of the Liberties and Properties of Engliſhmen all over the globe? for I believe it will be univerſally allowed, that when any member is choſen into the Houſe of Commons, he is not to regard only the intereſts of a paltry borough, or even of a whole county, but is to look upon himſelf as the guardian of all Engliſhmen, of their lives, liberties, and properties in Eaſt or Weſt Indies, Africa, and Europe; nay even in France, or Spain, or Italy, and to reſiſt them if ill uſed, though out of the King's dominion.

But pray what are the benefits that Dr. Price inſinuates Hanover has received from us—the depriving them of the pleaſure of having their own Princes living amongſt them—and when they were attacked by the French upon account of our American quarrel with France, in which they had not the leaſt concern; did we aſſiſt them more than the Heſſians, or our allies who had not the ſame ſovereign? The Bavarians and Saxons have had ſubſidies formerly from us—and the Danes likewise—and when they kept a body of troops, as ſtipulated by the agreements reſpectively made with them, and the money was paid, and the war ended, the obligations were not ſuppoſed to be very great on either ſide—but the Americans are indebted to us, for every acre of land they



they possess, for every house now left standing, which, if we had not preserved and defended for them in the last war, at such an immense expence, had been long ago taken from them by the King of France—as we at length took Canada from him—but I fancy they would hardly have found a French government as mild and gentle as the Canadians have found ours—where is Gratitude? has it really with Astrœa left this earth?

The argument, that if a government has a right to levy any taxes, or to take *any* part of a man's property, without his consent—it may take the *whole*, is so childish—that if it had not been so often repeated by writers on both sides the Atlantic, it had been hardly worth while to take any notice of it—for the consequence must be that no Legislature can justly levy any taxes *at all*. If the Parliament at home were to take the whole, and leave *no man any thing he could call his own*, I fancy few of us at home would bear it; or not think it an intolerable imposition, (though formerly the loyalty of the good people at Totness carried them in an address to allow the King twenty shillings in the pound, and more, as I remember). This argument, therefore, being applied to our own case at home, shews its extreme futility, and I need not waste more time or words upon it.

As to their becoming equal to us, it may be so in an hundred or a thousand years hence—and then it will be time enough to consider farther of this part of the argument—nothing can be more uncertain than the guesses and reveries of political writers upon

upon these subjects, which they call calculations.

But have they not helped us to support our poor, to pay our debts, &c. ? (see page 38) If we are indeed fellow subjects, and one kingdom or empire, as I contend—our poor are their poor—and our debts ought to be their debts.—And I must again repeat it, that our debts in this part of the empire, were wholly incurred in their defence on that side the Atlantic; but as to taking our commodities at our own price, I desire to know if they have paid any price at all for the last three millions-worth of goods sent from England? and if that may not be suspected to be one of the real causes of their quarrelling with us? By our merchants having given them such enormous and so long credits, as well as the Portuguese, I am afraid they will be *ass*-ridden with their own money; and at last they may perhaps lose both the Portugal and American trade. And also, I desire to know if they have ever forborn, or missed any opportunity they could get, to smuggle in tea, and all other commodities, into Boston, and the other provinces, whenever they could get them cheaper from any other country?

But have we on this side the Atlantic submitted to no restraints in their trade? Yes surely! to the full as great and important—yes, greater and more important than theirs. Did we not prohibit the planting tobacco in England? and was not the liberty of an English freeholder to do what he would with his own landed property, as sacred as theirs? Do we not submit to buy sugar only from



from our own Colonies, although we could have it for half the price from the French Islands? and is it not very important to the Americans, that we should do so? Is not the high prices they get from our islands (settled and maintained, as I observed before, at our expence, not theirs, if we must be considered throughout, as they are in the Doctor's book, as distinct and independant Legislatures) for their provisions, &c. the principal means of their being able to pay us large ballances, as it is pretended they do?

Of this, however, I must beg leave to doubt; I think it impossible that any country that has no gold or silver mines, can pay such ballances as are pretended to by Dr. Price's Calculations; and I was informed by a friend who was at New-York and in Virginia, some years ago, that upon viewing the difference between their old buildings and their new ones, their old and modern furniture, and the immense increase in the number of wheel carriages, and horses now kept amongst them, above what they had formerly, that he was very sure the whole of their profits (as has often too been pretended, and alledged by them, or at least by many of them) did not centre in Great Britain; but that some stuck by their fingers in the way; and indeed it is but reasonable it should; and I think it the height of absurdity to suppose it should not.

But moreover the same gentleman informed me, that some of the most considerable and sensible merchants, and others among them, were candid enough to own, and confess to him, that they  
believed

believed the ballance of trade was in their favour ; and this was further verified by calculations in Virginia, which were publickly printed—of this he would make oath, if necessary—and if they can build ships faster and cheaper in Philadelphia, as Mr. Penn affirmed in his late examination at the bar of the House of Lords, I leave any gentleman to judge what must be the situation of our trade and naval power in fifty or one hundred years, should they be emancipated from taxation by our Parliament. And I have heard that at Boston and Salem, and thereabouts, they also can build ships, and catch fish much cheaper than an Englishman can from Devonshire, or any part of Great Britain—What then can be our case at home hereafter ? or how can we ever pay off our debts, (incurred in the last war, as they had nearly done theirs) or which may be incurred by this rebellion, if we can't make them contribute to our taxes, but by the course of trade ? which trade, after all, may turn out to have the ballance against us.

The Doctor, however, has plainly pointed out to us one fund, whereby we may, and I hope shall, save a large sum to the publick revenue in England hereafter, viz. in never more sending them any armies or fleets for their defence, unless paid for it ; and the same thing is likewise to be said upon their civil establishments, forts, and castles, and their repairs, guns, ammunition, &c. all which I heartily concur with him, that we ought never to send to, or interfere with them, unless desired by themselves, and paid for by themselves



themselves too—except a few light frigates, and small schooner to prevent their smuggling, and oblige them to keep to the act of navigation, and to protect their fishery, and our own.

And I will here take leave to add, that all the bounties hitherto granted them may well be saved likewise: if their trade has increased so rapidly, they may well do without them; and it is well enough able surely to stand upon its own legs, especially if we continue to defend the Sugar islands solely at our own expence; and yet continue to them their monopoly of the Sugar trade, by not suffering our fellow subjects at home to have a free trade therein, but confining them to buy only of our fellow subjects (as long as they choose to continue so) in our own sugar islands, whereby, as I have already proved, the Americans must be much more rapidly enriched than ourselves.

I must further beg leave to assure the Doctor, that our lands at home are not risen to double the rents they were at twenty years ago, nor any thing like it. I believe I am as old as the Doctor; but I never remember good arable land in the Roodings of Essex, under 8 s. an acre, and do not suppose now it is above 10 or 12s. It is true, the landed men have a right to raise them more, as provisions are risen so much; but as leases generally run from seven to fourteen, or twenty-one years, the farmer gets rich, but the owner and proprietor of the land, (who by the bye pays the land-tax) gets poor, by paying the advanced prices long before he can take the advantage of raising

sing his rents, and perhaps a little while before his leases may expire, two or three plentiful crops of corn and hay, may reduce the price of provisions again, so that he cannot raise them at all.

Yet I must acknowledge that it is well known that Lord North would fain have had the land-tax continued at four shillings in the pound; and that Lord Bute (for why should I fear to do justice to a much-injured character?) would fain have reduced the high salaries and expences of government; but it is as well known that neither of them could succeed in such their designs; so far is it from being true, that an honest Minister will always endear himself to the people, or gain their confidence, as the Doctor has supposed; though I must also acknowledge, that I believe it greatly owing to the factious designs and aims of ambitious and interested men; and those popular demagogues, to whose arts and speeches may most truly be charged all the waste of blood and treasure that must necessarily now be expended before we can put an end to this most justly to be lamented, as well as detested American rebellion.

I heartily concur with the Doctor, that it is high time for the government to interfere, and to put a stop to the enormities committed in the East Indies, which, according to my principles, they have an undoubted right to do; but I do not see how they have any right, or even any possibility of doing it, according to the Doctor's system, and the principles he maintains; for suppose, if  
even



even we were to send any troops and ships to re-instate or punish our fellow subjects there, amenable to the same laws in the King's court at home, &c. especially to the high court of parliament, which by the King's charter they cannot be exempted from, and which courts have power to vacate any charters, if abused, (before 1780, or at any time) as I contend; but by Dr. Price's system, if Englishmen already landed there, or our own soldiers and sailors as soon as landed, should think fit to make use of the rights, which the Doctor contends are the natural and unalienable rights of all mankind, to chuse themselves a new form of government, and will no longer have our King and parliament for their representatives, how can we help it, according to Dr. Price's system, I ask once more?—By the bye, is not the King and Upper House a part of the representative? King James the First told both Houses, when jointly before him, that they did, as in a mirror, represent his love and affection to his people, and their grievances, if any they had, to him; which is the first time I remember to have seen the Parliament called a Representative in our history.

How the King's tenants were first enfranchised, and enabled to send members or burgesses to parliament, and the Baron's tenants slowly and long afterwards, I beg leave to refer the Doctor to Lord Chief Justice Hale's history—or Robertson's, for farther satisfaction. I cannot help here taking notice, that the Monthly Reviewers, though so scandalously partial to the American

side, that I cannot expect their good word for this my work—have not themselves been able to refrain from objecting to Dr. Price's charging all those who are for quelling the present rebellion in America quickly and by force, to be men that delight in blood, as being most unjust and uncharitable. I hope I am as sincere a lover of civil and religious liberty, and of true Christianity, as the Doctor; yet I trust we are not so sunk in luxury and effeminacy, since the last war, as to think the loss of some hundreds, or a few thousands in battle, can be absolute ruin to this nation, and totally inconsistent with religion or humanity.

I will here just take the liberty to hint to the aforesaid reviewers, that if they don't know what googing or gouging is, viz. the tearing a man's eyes out of their sockets with the thumb nails, they may consult the Virginia laws in one volume folio, printed by William Rind, by authority of the House of Burgeses, where they will find it to be made a capital crime, and to be punished with death.

And I also beg leave to suggest to them, that by leaving out the exordium of Lord Mansfield's speech, they have very unfairly misrepresented it—for his Lordship affirmed he did not doubt that they ought of right to be subject to our laws and legislature, in which I am heartily glad of the concurrence of so able a lawyer, and so good a judge; but added, if we were to grant or suppose for a moment, that they were independant legislatures, or had a right to resist us: he observed, they had now declared war against us, and proclaimed,



proclaimed, by an act of their own Congress, or newly found out Representatives, against whom no man must dare to vote or speak, or write, or print, under pain of death, and having his house burnt to the ground : that they had, I say, enacted, or declared war first against us, and published how ships taken from us should be condemn'd, and the prizes divided ; and should we not declare the like of them ?

I appeal in this case to the feelings of every Englishman, whether soldier or sailor, layman or clergyman, except Dr. Price's party.

I refer those who doubt, if they are aiming at independance, not only to Mr. Montcalm's book, but to Mr. Jefferson's, as published in Virginia.

If the French or Spaniards have sent any emissaries among them, or to their Congress, or any other foreign powers, I hope Englishmen have still spirit enough to withstand them, either on that side the Atlantic, or on this : and I hope, as our fleet is in so good forwardness, and our militia is to be embodied, by God's blessing on the justice of our cause, and the prudence of the measures pursued by the government, we need not doubt of success.

The Doctor has, I think, most profanely misapplied our Lord and Saviour's last words before his death : but I will help him to another text, which I think it would be very proper for their preachers to take and to preach upon at their next fast day, viz. 58th chapter of the prophet Isaiah, verse the 4th.—*Behold ye fast for strife, and debate and do smite with the fist of wickedness, &c. Wilt thou*

*thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day unto the Lord?* And also, I will help him to a reason why I presume our governors have not appointed a fast day at home, viz. because our laws have no power to enforce it to be observed properly; and it is most probable, if appointed, it would not have been so—the Quakers, and other Sectaries also have a dislike to such proclamations; and we see how few even of our own clergy read the prayer against war and tumults, which, since the declaration proclaiming them Rebels, I think they ought to do.

I have purposely reserved to the last place, the consideration of the 400,000l. per annum, which the Doctor takes credit for, as if it was in the Exchequer; and which, he says, we might have had from America; not only because I do not believe we should ever have had a single shilling from thence, but because the gentleman I formerly mentioned to have had my intelligence from, told me he could not ever see the least probability of any such thing; on the contrary, that it was known at New York, that the carmen and porters there could never have been stirred up to be so riotous in the time of the Stamp Act, if they had not been artfully persuaded that there would not be silver enough left in the country to coin a single sixpence; and yet one hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum was all that it was ever supposed would be raised by it, and that all to have been again expended amongst them, and above as much more every year from Great Britain; and also because it is now well known that a whole year before the passing the Stamp Act, that

truly



truly honourable and patriotick minister, the late Mr. Grenville, procured the agents from all the colonies to write to their respective principals to know what they would propose to contribute, and in what manner; both the quantum and mode of raising was then intended to be left to themselves—which is all they pretend now to require: but they all refused or neglected to vote any thing to be granted at all; and many I believe never so much as deliberated upon it, or took it into any publick consideration at all: but the Answer of the House of Assembly at Boston, whereby they absolutely refused to grant any thing at all, was long ago printed and published in the London Chronicle by Mr. Mauduit, whose truth I think nobody doubts; but if neither that, nor what has been also published in Mr. Dickenson's Farmer's Letters, Mr. Jefferson's Pamphlet, published in Virginia, and which they pretended to call their Bill of Rights, and what Mr. Penn affirmed before the House of Lords, relating to the resolutions of Pensylvania, and I believe I may truly say of all America, to grant no public revenue at all, no, not even to the Civil List, notwithstanding they pretend a mighty regard to the King, though not to the Legislature; if all this, I say, will not convince Dr. Price of there being no hopes to get this 400,000*l.* Revenue from thence, I must even leave him to his own credulity or rather infatuation, or resolution to believe or disbelieve any thing, just as may suit his own Party, and make his name famous among Liverymen and Common-Councilmen.

T H E   E N D.





